Martyrs' Hill,

Site of

St. Ignace II.

HURONIA
OF THE RELATIONS
SIMCOE COUNTY ONT.
Rev. Arthur E. Jones, S.J.
St MARY'S COLLEGE, MONTREAL.
1906
REFERENCE
Indian Village names are in Italics and their sites are marked thus.....
Modern Village block lettered and are marked thus.....
Township lines
County line
Old shore lines
GIANTS TOMB ISLAND
BEAUSOLEIL ISLAND
CHRISTIAN ISLAND
St Joseph
St Marie II
GLOUCESTER POOL
RIVER SEVERN
MATCHEDASH BAY
PENETANGUISHENE
MIDLAND
VICTORIA HARBOUR
PORT SEVERN
SPARROW LAKE
Severn Bridge
Washago
L. ATTIGOUANTAN
TINY
MEDONTE
N. ORILLIA
Wye Bridge
Cold water
Vasey
Eady
Waverley
Marchmount
Prices Corners
ORILLIA
LAKE COUCHICHING
Elmvale
Allenwood
Coulson
Rugby
Couchiching Beach
Van Vlack
Crosstand
Creeklon
Fergusonville
Craighurst
NOTTAWASAGA
BAY
COLLINGWOOD
Phelpston
Apto
Edgar
Tp Hall
Hawkestone
L. OUENTARON
Dalston
Crownhill
LAKE SIMCOE
NOTTAWASAGA
Stayner
Ekarenniondi or Standing Rock
SUNNIDALE
VESPRA
BARRIE
KEMPENFELT BAY
Singhampton
SCALE
ENGLISH MILES

Martyrs' Hill

(Lot 4, Concession VII, Tay Township, Simcoe Co., Ont.)

The True Site of St. Ignace II.

Scene of the tortures and death of Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant
March 16 and 17, 1649.

Restatement of Proofs

By

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MONTREAL
1915

PROEM

Of all the Huron village sites St. Ignace II. is the one in which centres the greatest interest, and deservedly so. It was there that two heroes of the Christian Faith, Jean de Brébeuf, strong of will and body, and the frail and gentle Gabriel Lalemant, suffered side by side the most excruciating torments and gave their life for the Master.

In the pages of 8ENDAKE EHEN or OLD HURONIA, as a study of all the sites of Huron villages had to find place, in view of their identification, it was not possible to dwell at greater length on the proofs relative to lot 4, concession VII., Tay, now Martyrs' Hill, being that of St. Ignace II. The present study is intended to supplement what was lacking. However, the essential points of direction and distance, which require less development, are treated here more tersely, while other very important corroborative facts, as for instance, the battlefield of March 17, barely hinted at in the former volume, are worked out in these pages to their legitimate conclusion. The present monograph, of more modest proportions than OLD HURONIA, not obtainable by all, will be within reach of every one interested in the subject.

The line of reasoning is very simple. As St. Ignace II. is not set down upon Ducreux's inset map, the one marked there being St. Ignace I. (*), the site of St. Ignace II. must be determined by co-ordinates from two well known points. One is settled beyond cavil, the ruins of old Ste. Marie I., traces of which, though vandalism has done its best to obliterate them, are still plainly visible. The position of the second point, St. Louis, must be established also beyond dispute by its direction and distance from Ste. Marie I. Its direction is found by taking its bearings from Ducreux's inset map (1643-1647), and its distance, from Ragueneau's Relation (1649) and Bressani's Breve Relatione (1653). These are the only two contemporaneous authors, both old missionaries of Huronia, who mention it. The Indian village, which once stood on the Newton Farm, answers, and it alone, to the requirements of distance and direction.

Such being the case, the true site of St. Ignace II. can be fixed with certainty at the intersection of the arcs having for radii the two co-ordinates whose lengths are respectively the distance from Ste. Marie I. to St. Ignace II., as specified in Malherbe's Obituary, and the distance of St. Louis (or the Newton Farm) to St. Ignace II., as given by Ragueneau (loc. cit.), Bressani (loc. cit.), and by the Petun missionary, Charles Garnier, in a letter to his brother (April 25, 1649).

This constitutes the main proof. What follows is corroborative evidence.

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* It is marked on the heights beyond Sturgeon River and to the South of Arethsi. This implies a distance of at least 8 miles from Ste. Marie I., and 5¼ from St. Louis (or the Newton Farm), distances incompatible with those vouched for in the old authentic documents, as will be seen.

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STARTING POINT, STE. MARIE I.

The ruins of the old stone fort of Ste. Marie I. are still visible on lot 16, concession III., Tay Tp.

SITE OF ST. LOUIS.

Direction from Ste. Marie I. Southeasterly *(Ducreux's Inset Map, 1643-1647)*, so understood by Parkman also (*Jesuits in North America, p.* 378).

Distance from Ste. Marie I. "Not more than a league" *(Ragueneau, Rel.* 1649, *Quebec ed., p.* 11, 1 *col.; Cleveland ed., Vol.* 34, *pp.* 126, 127*).*—"Not more than two (Ital.) miles" *(Bressani, Brev. Rel., Macerata,* 1653, *p.* 109; *Martin's French Translation,* 1852, *p.* 254; *Clev. ed., Rels., Vol.* 39, *pp.* 248, 249*)*

Distances to be taken in line of vision. From the context nothing could be clearer than that the distance given in Relation 1649, must be understood as taken in a straight line. The very distance "of not more than a league" is brought forward by Ragueneau AS THE REASON why the smoke and flames were so PLAINLY VISIBLE from Ste. Marie I. "A la vue de ces flammes et à la couleur de la fumée qui en sortait, nous jugeâmes assez de ce qui en était, ce bourg de St. Louis N'ETANT PAS ELOIGNE DE NOUS DE PLUS D'UNE LIEUE" *(Rel.* 1649, *Quebec ed., p.* 11, 1 *col., Cleveland ed. Vol.* 34, *p.* 127*).* To be consistent and especially not

to bewilder his reader, Ragueneau, in giving the distance from St. Ignace II. to St. Louis, in this same chapter III., third paragraph above, must have had in mind the same norm. *(Cf. Bressani loc. cit.)*. Modern authors: "Ste. Marie," (place) "située une lieue de là" i.e. de St. Louis *(Ferland, Cours d'Hist. du Canada I Partie, p. 374)*. "About three miles distant" *(Parkman, Jesuits in North America, p. 378)* "Sainte-Marie n'était qu'à quatre kilomètres" de St. Louis *(Félix Martin, S. J., Vie de Brébeuf, 1877, p. 279)*.

THE NEWTON FARM SITE OF ST. LOUIS.

(West half of lot 11, Conc. VI. of Tay Tp.)

DIRECTION.—Southeasterly from Ruins of Ste. Marie I. (See map of Tay at the end).

DISTANCE, from same, two and three-quarter miles. (See map of Tay, Ib.).

SITE OF OLD INDIAN VILLAGE, with ash-beds, kitchen refuse, pot-sherds, etc. *(A. F. Hunter's, Sites in Tay, p. 20, No. 8)*. No other site anywhere near with like indications, and note that a fire here could be seen plainly, over the low intervening ground, from Ste. Marie I.

SITE OF ST. IGNACE II.

(Begun after winter of 1648—*Rel. 1648, Queb. ed., p. 49, 2 col. and conjunctim p. 50, 2 col., 51, 1 col.—Clev. ed. Vol. 33, pp. 82, 83 and conjunction 88, 89.*—Destroyed, March, 1649, *Rel. 1649, Queb. ed., p. 10.—Clev. ed., Vol. 34, 122-125)*.

DISTANCE FROM STE. MARIE I.—"Two leagues." The bodies of Brébeuf and Lalemant, from where they were slain (St. Ignace II.), were carried back "to us" i.e., to Ste. Marie I., the only mission that remained, "a distance of two leagues," "durant 2 lieues" *(Malherbe's Obituary, 1696, Rapport No. 17 des Missions du Diocèse de Québec, Avril, 1866, p. 53.—Archives X.—8)*.

DISTANCE FROM ST. LOUIS.—"About one league" *(Ragueneau, Rel. 1649, Queb. ed., p. 10, 2 col, line 30 and ss. Clev. ed., Vol. 34, pp. 124, 125)*. "Not more than three (Ital.) miles" *(Bressani, op. cit. 108; Italian text and English transl., Clev. ed., Rels., Vol. 39, pp. 246, 247. Martin's French Transl., p. 253)*.

". . . The enemy having captured them (at St. Louis) took them to their fort (St. Ignace II.) which was a league or thereabouts from there and made them endure all kinds of torture" *(Fr. Charles*

Garnier—To his brother, Apr. 25, 1649, *Contemporaneous MS. copy of his letters, p.* 104, *St. Mary's College Archives A.* 3. *a)* St. Ignace II. is here called "their fort," as the Iroquois had left a strong garrison there *(Rel.* 1649, *Queb. ed., p.* 11, 2 *col., line* 42 *et ss. Clev. ed., Vol.* 34, *pp.* 130, 131*).* Parkman says "about a league distant" *(op. cit.* 380*)* and Martin "quatre kilomètres" *Vie de Brébeuf* 269*).*

Direction from Ste. Marie I.—About the same as was St. Louis. For, the sum of the distances from Ste. Marie I. to St. Louis, and of St. Louis to St. IgnaceII. was about equal to that of St. Ignace II. to Ste. Marie I. Had the latter distance been exactly equal to the sum of the two former the three sites would be in a straight line.

MARTYR'S HILL ON CAMPBELL FARM SITE OF ST. IGNACE II.

(East half of lot 4, conc. VII. of Tay Tp.)

Direction from Ruins of St. Marie I.—Southeasterly. (See map of Tay at the end).

Distance from Same.—Five miles and three-quarters—about one league. (See map of Tay, Ib.).

Distance from St. Louis.—Two miles seven-eighths—(a league or thereabouts). With the other two sites, forming an almost isosceles triangle, whose height is about five-eighths of a mile, with apex towards the north. (See same map of Tay.)

An Alternative Solution Possible.—Taking as axis the line joining Ste. Marie I. and St. Louis, both fully determined and fixed, the former by the ruins of the Old Fort, the latter by demonstration, the triangle may be swung round with apex towards the south. The position of St. Ignace, in the symetrical triangle, would then be on the very edge of the east shore of Sturgeon Bay, some 250 feet lower than Martyr's Hill. Correct as to distances, the change would set at naught the main reason of the removal from St. Ignace I. to St. Ignace II. *(Rel.* 1648, *Queb. ed., p.* 50, 2 *col.,* 51, 1 *col.; Clev. ed., Vol.* 33, *pp.* 88, 89*).* Even if fortified, it would clash with the qualifying term "impregnable," given to the new position by Bressani, *(Clev. ed. Rels., Vol* 39, *pp.* 246, 247*; Martin's French Transl.* 252*)* being overlooked by higher ground every step upwards to the highest position from which it was moved. Nor would there be any even remote semblance to a site with three sides protected by a deep moat or ravine such as described by Ragueneau *(Rel.* 1649 *Queb. ed, p.* 10, 2 *col.; Clev. ed., Vol.* 34, *pp.* 122-125*).*

For that matter, any site, even approximately in the right direction and at correct distance, situated towards the southwest or west of Martyr's Hill, would be open to like objections as lying on the same tableland but without protecting ravines. Thus all other sites, save Martyrs' Hill may be set aside as not being the true site of St. Ignace II. (See map of Tay at the end).

CONFIGURATION OF THE GROUND.

SITE OF ST. IGNACE II.

BRESSANI.—"Both its site and the fortifications we had made there rendered it impregnable, at least for savages." *(Op. cit. Martin's French Transl., p. 252.—Rels. Clev. ed., Italian Text and English Transl., Vol. 39, p. 247).*

RAGUENEAU.—(St. Ignace) "etait entourée d'une palisade de pieux, de la hauteur de quinze à seize pieds, et d'un fossé profond, dont la nature avait puissamment fortifié ce lieu par trois côtés ne restant qu'un petit espace plus faible que les autres" *(Rel. 1649, Queb. ed., p. 10, 2 col.—Clev. ed., Vol. 34, pp. 122-125).*

DUCREUX may be left unquoted, for, never having set foot in Canada, he but paraphrased, in Latin, Ragueneau's above description. All that concerns the configuration of the ground is contained in the two foregoing citations.

MARTYRS' HILL.

IMPREGNABLE at least for savages if fortified. Indisputably so.

ENCIRCLED BY A DEEP MOAT ("fossé profond"—"profound" in English has the force of "great depth." (See Annandale's dict. et al.) WITH WHICH NATURE HAD POWERFULLY STRENGTHENED THE PLACE ON THREE SIDES. Combining the two ideas of a defensive moat and Nature's handiwork, modern authors, and with reason, have adopted as equivalent *ravine.* Thus Ferland: "par de profondes ravines" *(Cours d'Hist. I., 373),* and Parkman: "defended on three sides by a deep ravine" *(Jes. in N.-Amer., p. 379).* A cursory glance at Martyrs' Hill and its surroundings would convince any observer of its perfect conformity to this description.

As for Ducreux's use of the terms "fossa ubique depressior vallis munita," and of Cicero's adaptation of the same terms to natural obstacles serving as a defence against hostile incursions, the reader is referred to "8endaké Ehen" or "Old Huronia" *(pp. 107, 108),* where he will also find Ducreux's paraphrase in full.

LEAVING BUT A SMALL SPACE WEAKER THAN THE OTHERS.—This "petit espace" in Ragueneau's description is the only feature which presents the least difficulty, as what corresponds to it on Martyrs' Hill might be deemed too considerable. This first unfavourable impression will in great measure be dispelled if we go back two centuries and a half, and view things as they were when Ragueneau wrote. The road between concessions VII. and VIII. was non-existent. Sturgeon River was then a stream of greater volume. The first hill whose brow is marked by the contour lines b, b, b, etc. (see map of Tay Tp.), then thickly wooded, was steep enough, to the north, east, and south-east to offer a very serious difficulty of ascent, which the road just mentioned has not by any means wholly obviated, as every pedestrian

from Victoria Harbour or Waubaushene is made fully aware. The second contour line, a, a, a, etc., marks the edge of the highest plateau or table-land, some 250 feet above the level of Sturgeon Bay. Martyrs' Hill, its northeast extremity, is, so to speak, a narrow promontory, the neck of which is no other than the fourth or southern side, otherwise "the small space weaker than the others."

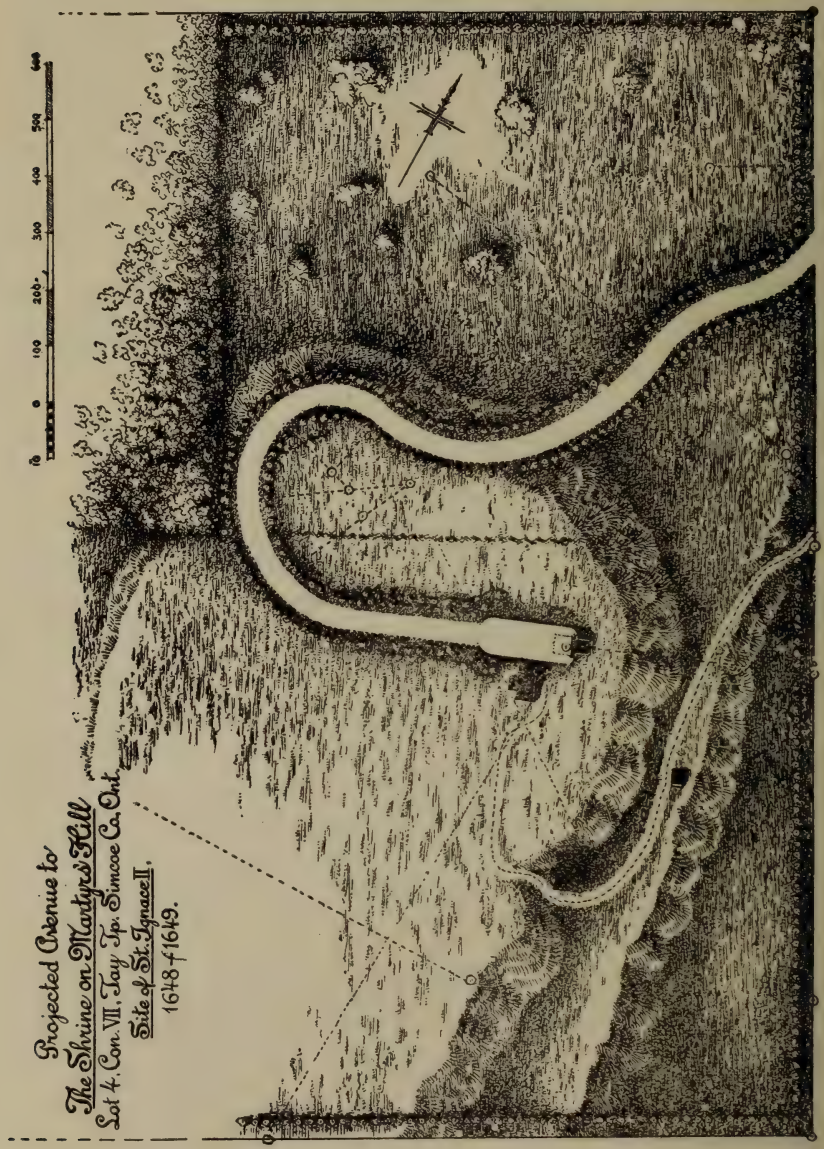
Compared with the extent of the encircling deep ravine of Sturgeon River, which forms the "fossé" of defence, it is indeed insignificantly small. But the modern observer arriving from the north, by the concession road, which masks the ravine proper, takes in only what lies to the right; and consequently limits the comparison implied to the circuit of the immediate site of the Shrine. Stretching across comparatively level ground, the fourth side, even fortified, would be far weaker than the rest. But could it be styled "a small space?" Taken as we have explained above, most certainly. Compared with the circuit along the plateau's edge, which it limits, it is in a ratio of one to three, even at present, after two and a half centuries of erosion by rains and melting snows. (See accompanying etching.)

Conclusion.—Realizing now as incontestable facts, that Martyrs' Hill lies in the *right direction* and at the *correct distance* from both Ste. Marie I. and St. Louis; that a *deep ravine* encircles it on three sides; that there is a *fourth side weaker* than the others, and lastly that absolutely *no other site answers even remotely* to these requirements as a whole—a *proportion of one to three* must needs be accepted as sufficient, though the real term of comparison in Ragueneau's mind was in all likelihood the much greater expanse of the deep ravine properly so called. In fine, Martyrs' Hill, in the configuration of the ground, is the counterpart of St. Ignace II.

An Essential Requisite—an Abundant Supply of Water.—It was plentiful at Martyrs' Hill. The conditions which now obtain there, and on nearly all the high table-lands of northern Simcoe county, are no criterion to go by in determining what the water supply was in 1649. The denudation of the hills, once so thickly wooded, has dried up many a spring. An instance to the point: all experts admit that an extensive Indian village had stood for many years on the Flanagan Farm, site of St. Joseph II. Mr. A. F. Hunter makes the following record:

"23.—On the west half of lot 7, conc. IV., Patrick Flanagan. This site is at the top of a very steep hill, 250 feet or more in height, at a distance of several rods southeast from the dwelling house, from which it is separated by a small ravine. Mr. Flanagan, Sen., who cleared the land, informed me that it covered about two acres. When they first cleared the ground, there were surface springs along the raised beach about 230 feet above the 'Algonquin,' but the water has lowered since the land was put under cultivation, and can now be found only by digging to a depth of twelve feet below the surface. There were thick deposits of ashes, in or near which he found many pottery fragments, pipes, etc." *(Sites in Medonte Tp., p. 77, No. 23).*

But what indications of water are there to-day near Martyrs' Hill? Across the road between concessions VII. and VIII. there is, I might say, an inexhaustible well at the side of Mr. P. Canavan's



dwelling. (See diagram, p. 13.) Around this spot stood some of the encampments to which were relegated the families of the Indians, who were busy felling trees on the plateau above, to clear the

site for the new village. To prevent accidents and to avoid interference, the presence of women and children was necessarily barred. In fancy, we can almost see the strips of fresh bark, set off with Huron hieroglyphics, conspicuously placarded at every approach, which, if translated, would read very much like the signs posted up on the portals of our modern hives of industry: "No admittance except on business."

Still more to the point, there is a spring on the west half of lot 4, of which Martyrs' Hill forms the east half, consequently it is on the plateau itself, not three-eighths of a mile at most, west of the fence dividing the two half lots. Here is how Mr. A. F. Hunter takes note of the fact: "26. Another village" (I should say encampment) "occurs on the land of Andrew Brown, west half of lot 4, concession VII. A spring issues near this site and drains to the Sturgeon River." *(Sites in Tay Tp., p. 30, No. 26.)* If even at the present day a spring is sufficiently copious to be the head source of a running stream, how abundant it must have been in 1649; while its existence is a certain sign that others erstwhile must have abounded in the neighbourhood.

As for the "sueuries" or steam-baths of the villagers, Sturgeon River was conveniently near. The fur covered shelters could be set up on its banks, and the accustomed plunge which followed made into its cooling waters.

Supply of Fuel.—Dense forests nearby would last for years and years. Martyrs' Hill site would not encroach on pre-existing rights. It is all but three miles from St. Louis, two from St. Denis and St. Jean, and but little less from the cluster of hamlets round St. Joachim and Arethsi on the ridge east of Sturgeon River.

Sure signs of Village occupancy at Martyrs' Hill, and where found.—The question now occurs: What vestiges or relics of Indian village occupancy were ever found at Martyrs' Hill?—Just such as one would naturally suppose should be found at the site of a village of but a few months existence, which very limited time was mostly all spent in clearing the site of forest growth, and erecting the fortified enclosures.

The facts are, there was no thought of removing St. Ignace I. to St. Ignace II. until the villagers had met with two disasters. The measure was first broached at the end of winter 1647-1648 *(Rel. 1648, Queb. ed., p. 49, 2 col. and conjunctim, pp. 50-51; Clev. ed., Vol. 33, pp. 82, 83 and conjunctim 88, 89)*, say, towards the end of April of the latter year. On the other hand the village was utterly destroyed by the Iroquois on March 17, 1649, an event which of course was unforeseen. This would leave barely a twelvemonth to effect the removal and all it entailed. There was first the selection of a site, that is, parties had to be sent out to scour the region nearer to Ste. Marie I., in quest of a stronger and more secure position *(Rel. 1648, Queb. ed., p. 50-51; Clev. ed., Vol. 33, p. 88, 89.)* Then, the council had to discuss, after the thorough and deliberate Indian fashion, the various sites proposed. As the measure was all-important, and as it

was unheard of that the Iroquois had ever invaded their country during the winter, which would give them until the summer of 1649 to effect the removal, we may well assume that nothing was definitively settled before a couple of months. Most probably what put an end to their indecision was the sudden and overwhelming disaster that befell St. Joseph II. on July 4, 1648.

Thenceforth all was hurry and bustle. As I have already alluded to the very natural inference, workmen alone, and perhaps a few sturdy squaws eager and able to help, were allowed on the scene of so much feverish activity. By far the greater number of families were housed in temporary lodges, forming encampments at several points within easy reach of the chosen plateau. These have been mistaken sometimes, and not without some show of reason, for unimportant separate village sites.

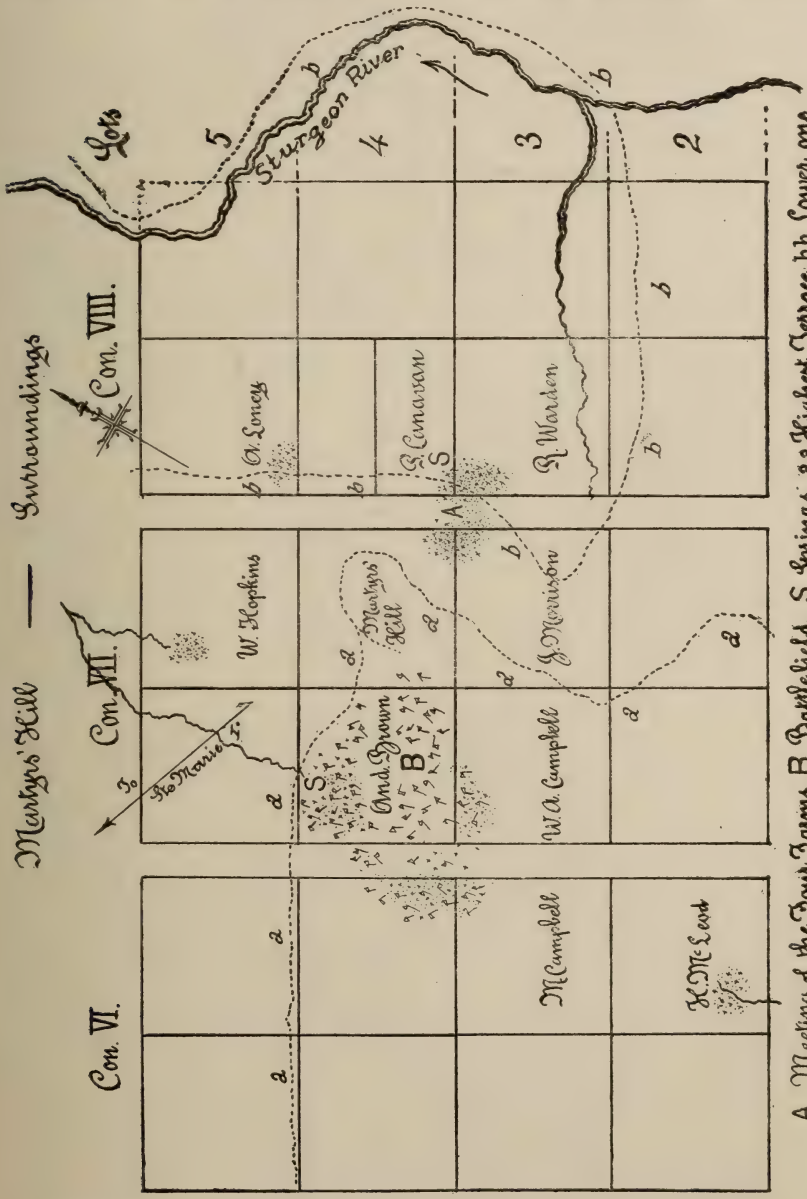
By consulting Mr. A. F. Hunter's Sites in Tay Tp., the reader will find several instances. Most of them lie within the black circle traced on the map. But to begin with a doubtful one outside: "Traces of a village have been found on the east half of the lot 7, conc. VII." *(p. 29, No. 22)*. The following are within the circle. "Another exists on east half of lot 5, conc. VII. *(Ib. No. 23)*. "Across the concession line, on west half of lot 5, conc. VIII. the owner finds a few remains" *(Ib. No. 24)*. "Another village occurs on . . . . west half of lot 4, con. VII. *(p. 20, No. 26)*. And likewise in Nos. 27, 28, *(p. 30)*. But to come to the most important record, No. 25, *(p. 29)* draws attention to the point of meeting of four farms, two on the east side of the concession road and two on the west.

"25. Farther south on the same line, a site of considerable size occurs at the adjacent corners of lots 3 and 4, where four farms meet. When Robert Warden, the owner of the west half of lot 3, conc. VIII., dug the cellar for his dwelling house here, they found ashbeds of a surprising depth. Numerous relics were also found, including beads (native and European), iron knives and iron tomahawks, the latter in considerable numbers. Across the road in concession VII., near the boundary between the farms of John Morrison (lot 3 east half) and Robert Lockart [afterwards the Campbell Farm and now Martyrs' Hill] (lot 4, east half) were some refuse mounds, and in the adjoining corner of Patrick Canavan's land (southwest quarter of lot 4, east half) a few relics have been picked up. It is estimated that the camps here covered about fifteen acres altogether, situated as in so many other instances, upon an old lake terrace" *(p. 29, No. 25)*.

The "surprising depth" of the ashbed where the Warden dwelling stands is easily accounted for by the heavy silty deposit washed down over it from the slopes of the plateau. The large estimate of "about fifteen acres" strewn with the relics, is explained by the camps not lying in a serried cluster but scattered here and there wherever a fairly level spot occurred.

At all events, we have things here just as they should be, illustrative of the peculiar case of St. Ignace II.; that is, scarcely a trace of a village occupancy on the plateau itself, which, with its extensive

enclosure fifteen or sixteen feet high, could not possibly be ready to receive the villagers more than a month or so before the destructive blow fell. Quite in keeping with this, we find numerous indications



of encampments of the busy workmen's families scattered about in the neighbourhood, and, as the ashbeds, etc. bear witness, occupied

for a much greater length of time. The most considerable of these and the nearest is the one situate on the comparatively level and lower terrace, beginning in the southeast corner of the Martyrs' Hill lot itself, extending into the three adjacent farms of P. Canavan, J. Morrison and R. Warden, as heretofore described.

In connection with the matter in hand it will be a satisfaction to the reader to learn the opinion of a well known expert in determining Indian Village Sites. I mean the late General John S. Clark, of Auburn, N.Y., author of the map of the Five Nations, who fixed at Auriesville, N.Y., the place where Fr. Isaac Jogues was slain by the Mohawks. In writing to me from Auburn, under date of May 8, 1903, he says:

"Many thanks for your note of the 11th inst. and the accompanying maps. I had received the Annual Archæological Report for 1902 some days previous. The extracts from the Relations and other works furnish a great mass of invaluable data for the student, whether your conclusions are correct or not, and I frankly confess that I am unable to furnish any serious objections to your theories as to the locations of St. Louis, St. Ignace II., St. Jean, Ste. Anne and St. Denis, and I hope and trust that your conclusions may stand the test of the severest criticism . . .

"On receipt of Mr. Hunter's identification of a site of St. Ignace II. in the township of Tay (p. 21 of his monograph) I criticised his conclusion as inconsistent with the facts inasmuch as the remains show an occupation of at least several years, while St. Ignace II. was only occupied about one year" *(Coll. Archives, Gen. Clark's Letters, B. 23, p. 8).*

A UNIQUE CORROBORATIVE FACT.

A FIELD OF BATTLE.

When tomahawks only are found, even in considerable numbers, it is no evidence that an Indian village once stood on the spot. Bone-pits and ossuaries are rather proof that no village existed there unless it was previous to the date of these common receptacles for several villages, more or less distant, of the bones of those departed since the last Feast of the Dead. Such feasts were held at intervals of ten or a dozen years. Full particulars on Huron Burials are to be found in Chapters VIII. and IX. of Brébeuf's Relation, 1636 *(Queb. ed., p. 128; Clev. ed., Vol. 10, p. 265, p. 279).*

Ash-beds or kitchen-middens are not only the surest but are the only indisputable indication of village occupancy. These invariably include wampum beads, pipes, pot-sherds, stone implements, etc., in varying quantities. But if in the main, tomahawks are profusely scattered over a restricted area, a sure conclusion may be reached that they mark a scene of conflict. If on the same surface vestiges of a village are perceptible, it is equally certain that the strewing of the

tomahawks was at a later date, for, the villagers would have soon gathered in tools or weapons at all times so difficult to secure.

Now, there exists one such area, and only one, in all the township of Tay, and I might add, of northern Medonté. And this area is on the same plateau and is contiguous to Martyrs' Hill. In other words, it lies in concession VII. on lot 4, of which Martyrs' Hill is the east half and the area the west half. (See diagram page 13.)

I quote from Mr. A. F. Hunter, who assures us that on the west half of lot 4, concession VII.: "Large numbers of iron tomahawks have been found, especially during the time of the first settler, John Moad. It is related how the roof of his shanty was the receptacle for these relics, and was sometimes covered with them, fifty or even more lying upon it at one time." I interrupt to observe that the wording here would imply that from time to time he parted with numbers but still kept on replenishing his collection. "Some scattered relics similar to these have been found on the opposite farm across the concession line" *(Sites in Tay, p.* 30, *No.* 26*)*. That is, on east half of lot 4, concession VI.

Some tomahawks were also unearthed on lot 3, conc. VI., land joining the above last mentioned lot *(Ib. No..* 27*)*, and some also on other farms contiguous *(same page)*.

Here then is a battlefield, and the only one yet discovered in Tay which has left after it such unmistakable traces, more trustworthy even than the monumental lion on the field of Waterloo.

Record in the Relations.

Turning to the Relations for a clue we find only one big battle in the open on Huron soil described. The sequence of events is as follows:

On March 16, 1649, after the taking of St. Ignace II. by surprise, and the storming of St. Louis, the victorious Iroquois returned to St. Ignace II., where they had left a strong garrison, in case of mishap, and to watch over their supplies and prisoners *(Rel.* 1649, *Queb. ed., p.* 11, 2 *col.; Clev. ed, Vol.* 34, *p.* 131*)*. The fiendish custom of torturing their captives did not interfere with the sending out of scouts on the evening of the 16th, to examine the state of defence of the French Fort of St. Marie I. These brought back such favourable reports that the war-council decided on an attack for the morrow *(Queb. ed. ib.; Clev. ed. ib.)*.

Meanwhile the news of the Iroquois incursion had reached Ossossané (La Conception) and Arenta (Ste. Magdeleine) of the Bear Clan. These braves to the number of 300 gathered in all haste and set out for the scene of conflict, counting upon heavy reinforcements from their other villages. They reachced the neighbourhood of St. Ignace II. on the morning of the 17th of March, and quickly concealed themselves in the nearby forest so as to command the approaches ("les avenues") but only after having sent out a small advance guard to watch at closer range the movements of the enemy. The main body thus lay in wait intending to surprise their foes at some advantageous point "quelque

part,'' not as the Clev. ed. has it, ''some portion of the enemy'')—*(Queb. ed.* 12, 1 *col; Clev. ed., p.* 131, 133*).*

Needless to point out that the ambuscading Hurons must have taken up their position on the plateau so as not to be at a disadvantage, and to the west and somewhat to the south of St. Ignace II., since there only could they hope to remain out of sight and when occasion offered to intercept an expedition on the march towards Ste. Marie I. This would be on lots 3, VI. and VII. concessions, while the observation party would be scouting more to the north.

That the Iroquois, on the morning of the 17th, were still present at St. Ignace II. is attested by the fact that they dealt the death blow to Gabriel Lalemant only about 9 in the morning of that day, Brébeuf having expired at about 4 the evening before *(Queb. ed., p.* 15, 1 *col.; Clev. ed., Vol.* 34, *p.* 147*).*

In keeping with their council's decision of the day previous two hundred Iroquois warriors or thereabouts, leaving the main body at St. Ignace II. set out to attack Fort Ste. Marie I. Masters of strategy as they were, they could not prudently do otherwise than choose the line of march on the high ground of the plateau (see contour line a, a, a, etc., on map) in a westerly direction. This could be followed as far as the east end of lot 4, conc. V. However, they had barely started, when, having come between the small observation party of the Hurons and their ambuscading base, the futile attempts of the scouts to rejoin their own troops, betrayed their presence to the Iroquois. A one-sided engagement followed. The Huron detachment was easily routed and driven to within sight of the French fort, leaving the snow-covered line of flight marked with their dead *(Ib. Queb. ed., p.* 12, 1 *col.; Clev. ed., Vol.* 34, *p.* 133*).*

Presumably under such disadvantageous conditions no message could reach the hidden forces of the Hurons, save the far off din of battle. Aroused by the Iroquois war-whoop they instantaneously sprang from their lair, and fell upon the flanks and rear of their foes, many of whom turned to face the onslaught (on west half lot 4, conc. VII.). The struggle was long and stubborn. At first the Hurons barely held their own against opponents flushed by their late triumphs; but the fierce courage of braves, intent on ridding their country of the hated invader, coupled with the feeling that they were now fighting on even terms, told at last. They drove the enemy headlong down the slopes, and pursued them relentlessly across the country towards St. Louis, within the still standing palisades of which the Iroquois were only too glad to seek shelter. But the Huron was not to be balked thus of his prey. The stockade was attacked without a moment's pause, and after repeated efforts finally carried. Thirty Iroquois, all nearly that had survived the pursuit, fell into the hands of the elated Hurons *(Ib. Queb. ed., p.* 12, 1 *col.; Clev. ed. ib., p.* 133*).*

Here ends all that concerns the subject in hand. An account of the disappointing and disastrous outcome of the final struggle immediately follows the last references in the works quoted.

I have no misgivings as to what conclusion the unbiased reader

will come after considering the facts. The foregoing account of the battle is strictly historical in all its main features, and is borne out by the Relations as can easily be ascertained by consulting the references. Here and there a few phrases have been added, but merely to link together what appeared disjointed. The exact position of the contending parties has also been pointed out.

This battle, as described in the Relations, is the natural and only possible explanation of the profusion of tomahawks found, and these in turn, by the area they cover, supply the lacking clue as to the exact locality where the action took place.The author of Relation 1649 did the best he could to make this clear by saying that the Hurons posted themselves "aux avenues," that is, at the approaches to St. Ignace II. The advantage is with the writer of to-day who can conveniently point to the precise lot and concession.

Corollaries.—A corollary may be drawn, based on the object the Hurons had in view, that of intercepting by a surprise attack the Iroquois expedition against Ste. Marie I. To make this possible of achievement the ambuscade must have been close to St. Ignace II. and on the western side. The field of tomahawks close to Martyrs' Hill on the western side is in thorough agreement with this.

A second corollary is that St. Ignace II. did not lie nearer to Ste. Marie I. than did the field of battle, otherwise the Huron troop could not have interposed between the oncoming Iroquois and the fort they meant to destroy. So, Martyrs' Hill, to be the true site, must lie, as it does, beyond the area bestrewn with tomahawks. The possibility of its lying much beyond is precluded by the very nature of the ground. Its site is the extreme point of highest elevation towards the east or southeast, unless it were moved across the great ravine of Sturgeon River, which, contrary to historical data, would lengthen its distance from Ste. Marie I. to over seven and a half miles, and to over four and a half miles from St. Louis.

To Champion any other Site a Hopeless Task.

All told, it will tax beyond measure the ingenuity of the most patient and pains-taking advocate of any other site, before attempting positive proof, to first explain away the amazing coincidence that all the topographical peculiarities of direction, distance and conformation of ground, that all relevant historical details, taken from various sources and predicated of the site of St. Ignace II. are identically the same as those that fit the conditions of Martyrs' Hill, while some other spot elsewhere, is championed as the true site of St. Ignace II.

MAP OF TAY TOWNSHIP.

"In that part of the township called the Old Survey, which consists of Concessions One and Two, the sideroads are placed at every fifth lot and are a mile and a quarter apart (100 chains). The lots in the First Concession are a mile and a quarter deep, but those in the Second have a depth of only one-half of that amount.

Concessions Three to Fourteen make up the New Survey. These are five-sixths of a mile wide (66⅔ chains) and have sideroads at every fifth lot, or a mile and seven-eighths apart (600 rods). Bearing these measurements in mind, a reader may readily calculate any distance" *(Andrew F. Hunter, Sites in Tay Tp., p. 8. Cf. Medonte Tp., p. 63).*

That the Map of Tay Tp., at the end of this pamphlet, is substantially correct is evidenced by these measurements.

IDENTIFICATION OF HURON VILLAGE SITES IN TAY TOWNSHIP

BY A.E. JONES S.J.

Township line. | Present Villages and hamlets.
b b Old shore line higher level. | I XIV Concessions
a a Old Shore line highest level. | 1–17–113 Lots
. . . Indian Village Sites | Gravel

Scale of Miles.

1 kil

GLOUCESTER BAY
VICTORIA HARBOUR
STURGEON BAY
MATCHEDASH BAY
MUD L.
L. Isargui
WYEBRIDGE
WYE
RIVER
St. Xavier
ELLIOTT'S
St. Louis
Ste. Anne
HOG RIVER
St. Denis
St. Ignace II.
St. Jean
St. Joachim
Arethsi
FESSERTON
COLDWATER R.
WAVERLEY
VASEY
WALGASHENE
STR. BAY STA.
5. miles 6.
1 7/8 mile
1 1/4 mile
3/8
I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX X XI XII XIII XIV